

LINCOLN STEFFENS PICTURES U'REN

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out after it for McKinley and gold. Some of his lieutenants left him, among them Jonathan Bourne, Jr., a man we must know. He is now the Junior United States Senator from Oregon. You have heard of black sheep? Well, Jonathan Bourne was the black ram of a rich New England family. After a wild time at Harvard University and a wilder time "about town," he went West and had the wildest time of all. I think U'Ren will not charge him up to conditions; I've heard him say Bourne was improved by age. He learned this game from Mitchell, who learned his from Quay in Pennsylvania, whence Mitchell came (after a change of name), and the lesson of the Quay school of politics was not to organize like Tammany for the year around, but to "let her rip" till just before a campaign, then make a new "combine."

U'Ren Joins Bourne.

When Mitchell made his gold "combine" Bourne made his new silver "combine" and U'Ren joined Bourne. U'Ren found that his delegation was solid and ready to trade. All they wanted was (1) the initiative and referendum, (2) a good registration law (Ed Blagham's), and (3) Pop judges and clerks of elections. Bourne wanted to be speaker. He was willing to swing his delegation to the Pop bills in return for their votes for his speakership. This settled the house; they looked to the senate. The president, Joe Simon, was the man who beat the constitutional convention with a wink. No matter, U'Ren wasn't punishing men. He called on Simon. He knew Simon wanted to go to the United States Senate. Simon didn't say so. No! Simon's conversation suggested that President Corbett of the First National bank would make a good Senator, but the politicians understood that Corbett was "only Simon's rich sucker." And so it turned out, for when, later, Simon did control a legislature for Corbett, Simon, not Corbett, was elected to the United States Senate. But U'Ren wasn't interested in Senatorships. He believed that Simon would go into a strong combine to beat Mitchell. And he was right. Since the terms—U'Ren's "fool" legislation and Bourne's speakership—were satisfactory, Simon delivered the Senate.

Does it begin to appear now how U'Ren got his good laws in the bad state of Oregon? Do you begin to understand why it was that "leading citizens" and "corrupt politicians," the very men who are against reform elsewhere, "passed all these reform measures ascribed to U'Ren?" Most of these men didn't know what they were doing and they didn't care. They wanted something for the people. On that basis, William U'Ren went into every political deal that he could get into.

Beat Mitchell To It.

And that he was a factor to be reckoned with, he proved right away. Quick, quiet, industrious, he had his "combine" organized before Mitchell woke up. The Simon-Bourne-Pop crowd captured the temporary organization of the house. This they did by a snap. They weren't ready to elect a United States Senator, and since the election must be held, by law, on the second Tuesday after the permanent organization was affected, their play was to put off the election of a speaker. U'Ren himself made that play. There was a contest over one seat in the house. U'Ren was on the committee and he controlled three of the five votes. He wouldn't report. The minority, seeing the game, rushed back and, reporting a row in the committee, caused a row in the house. And a mad scene it was. The Mitchell men rose in a rage and, all on their feet, were crying "fraud" and demanding "action." When U'Ren arrived, his side, uninformed and without a leader, was in a state of confusion. They greeted him with a cheer and he took the floor. Quietly, with great courtesy and unexpected ability, he met the attack. Everybody else was excited. U'Ren alone was cool and, as man after man arose to accuse him, he, with the papers he wanted in his pocket, answered with reason and with tact. And his self-possession soon possessed the house. "It is wonderful," a woman spectator exclaimed. "Whenever that man speaks, you can feel a sense of quiet settle upon the whole house." Little known in the state and known to the politicians as "the dreamer," U'Ren's debate that night made him a reputation. The recollection of everybody present was vivid 10 years afterwards, when I inquired, but when I mentioned it to U'Ren, he smiled; he never fools himself.

"It is easy to make a reputation as a parliamentarian," he said, "when you have the chairman on your side." He went out; that is what he recalls. He beat permanent organization that Monday night and thus put off the senatorial vote for two weeks. And then followed, not two weeks, but a session of bribery, drunkenness, hate and deadlock. Men were bought, sold and bought back again. Both sides used money, fiercely; and since there was no appropriation bill, the members got from the state no salary, no mileage, nothing; they had to have money. Well, they got it. Bourne set up a private house, somewhat like the "House of Mirth" at Albany, N. Y., where he "kept" men on his side, Mitchell ran the price of votes up to thousands of dollars, and he and his lieutenant, Charlie Fulton (now senior United States Senator from Oregon), paid out the money in cash. The Pops caught them at it.

Senator Fulton Enters.

Johnson Smith, assistant warden of the penitentiary, then a Pop assemblyman, proposed to go to Mitchell and take some of his money for evidence. "Go ahead," said U'Ren. "We'll vouch for your purpose in doing it." So Smith got from Mitchell and Fulton \$1500 as for himself, and \$250 as for the go-between. The next day, when the Mitchell men were trying to gather a quorum, Smith stood outside in the lobby. Rushing up to him, Ful-

ton ordered him to his seat. Smith laughed. "Why! Aren't you going in?" said Fulton. And when Smith said he wasn't, Fulton flew into a rage. "Didn't you take our money and promise to go in?" "Yes," said Smith, "I took your money. You were so damn fresh and free with it, I thought I'd take a piece. But it's you that's sold, not me."

There was more to this dialogue, but the sequel will interest the people of the United States who want to know about their United States Senators—Governor Chamberlain, of Oregon, made an affidavit for Henry to send to the President, deposing and swearing that when Smith was under consideration for appointment to the penitentiary, Fulton protested on the ground, not that Smith had taken Mitchell's money, but that having taken it, he had not stayed bought! Charles W. Fulton is fundamentally corrupt.

"No," says U'Ren. "That was in war times, and we mustn't judge men in the heat of battle by the standards of cold blood." But U'Ren is excusing the bribery of 1897; the Senator's protest to Governor Chamberlain was in 1903—in cold blood. But never mind Fulton. How about U'Ren? That deadlock, which he helped to manage, lasted to the end. Nothing was accomplished; no Senator was elected, no legislation passed, and everybody concerned was under suspicion. U'Ren himself had charges to answer. He was accused of taking money from Bourne, and calling together the Pop committee, he admitted that he had borrowed \$80. He had to be pleaded. He had opened a law office in Oregon City, but a "country lawyer" in politics earns very little, and since there was no appropriation bill, he got no pay. He earned none, he admitted, and he abided by that. For when the next legislature voted full salaries and mileage to its predecessors, U'Ren and one other member, George Ogle, sent back their warrants. So he never did get any money for that time, and, to exist, he had to borrow from Bourne. But the \$80 was a loan, not a bribe; he has long since paid it back and since he suggested the whole deal, the money did not affect his conduct. His committee exonerated U'Ren, but the transaction hurt him, and so did some letters of his which, published later, showed how he traded with the powers of evil; as he did—and as he went on doing—deliberately, in cold blood, as George Ogle knows.

U'Ren Makes a Vow.

George Ogle, farmer and Populist, is notoriously honest. He was U'Ren's best friend, and when in the fall of 1908 Ogle's mother died, he asked U'Ren to deliver the funeral address. The next day Ogle mounted his horse and rode back to town with U'Ren. It was a cold ride in the rain through slush, but they had a warm talk, through two. U'Ren had run for the senate that summer against George C. Brownell, the senator from Clackamas, who, as chairman of the committee on railroads, had represented for years the corrupt system of Oregon in the Senate. He beat U'Ren, who turned right around and made a deal with him. U'Ren promised to help elect Brownell to any office he might choose to run for next time, if the senator would work in good faith for the initiative and referendum. Ogle knew this because he was one of the Pops U'Ren had asked to join in the bargain. And Ogle had been thinking it over ever since, and now, out there in the mud and sleet of that country road, he asked U'Ren—what the fight was to cost him, U'Ren.

U'Ren understood, and he answered, "I am going to get the initiative and referendum in Oregon," he said, "if it costs me my soul. I'll do nothing selfish, dishonest or dishonorable, but I'll trade off parties, offices, bills—anything for that."

Ogle objected. "Good things are not worth that price," he said. They quarreled over it, these two good friends. It was a quiet quarrel, and it is being made up now, but they parted then for many years, Ogle returning to his farm, U'Ren to the lobby at Salem.

The Lobbyist Wins.

And U'Ren used the lobbyist's means to get his end. "We helped through measures we didn't believe in," U'Ren says in his plain way, "to get help for our measures from members who didn't believe in them. That's corruption, yes; that's a kind of corruption, but our measures were to make corruption impossible in the end."

The initiative and referendum passed in 1899, 44 to 8 in the house, 22 to 6 in the Senate. And U'Ren went on working. The moment the session closed the Direct Legislation League (W. S. U'Ren, secretary) set about making it impossible for Brownell's friends to "beat it next time." U'Ren instructed the voters. The propaganda was systematic, thorough, complete, and the politicians knew it. And the politicians knew now that U'Ren's word was good and his support worth having. So in 1901, when the measure came up for second passage, U'Ren, from the lobby and after more dickering, saw it go through unanimously. And at the next general election (1902) the people approved it, 11 to 1.

BURNS IS NEW CHIEF.

Firemen's Election Creates Very Little Interest This Year.

Interest was lacking in the annual election of the volunteer fire department held here Monday and with 196 members of the department, only 119 votes were cast. Charles E. Burns, Jr., of Columbia Hook & Ladder Co., being elected chief of the department, receiving 68 votes, to 48 for Clarence Bruner, of Hill Hose Co., No. 3. Al Cannon, of Fountain Hose Co., was elected assistant chief by a majority of three votes over Edward Rechner, of Cataract Hose Co. There were four nominees for commissioner, three receiving the highest vote being elected; John Gleason, Columbia Hook and Ladder Co., 102; Henry W. Stratton, Cataract Hose Co., 86; David Williams Hill Hose Co. No. 3, 63; G. M. Caldwell, Green Point Hose Co., 47.

MINORITY VOTE FAVORS LITTLE ONES

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son compiled, but not before Mr. Schuebel called Adolph Aschoff to the chair and talked in a lively vein. He said that Mr. Gibson's position showed him to be a Democrat, and that the Democratic party is a negative party. The Republicans believe in the advancement of the people, and every measure passed by the people has been for their own interest.

"The people of this State have long been fighting for the direct primary law," exclaimed the county chairman, "but they never got it until they secured the initiative. It is absurd to say that the Republicans of this State, with a majority of 40,000, will elect a Democratic Senator."

Mr. Gibson's ire was plainly aroused. "Gibson Promotes Harmony. It was my wish to avoid personalities," he said; "but my Republicanism has been questioned. I have always been a Republican, and I never was elected Justice of the Peace on the Populist ticket. However, in the interest of party harmony, I will withdraw the resolution."

An adjournment was taken until the afternoon. The attendance was slightly increased over the morning session, and Mr. Schuebel again started the fireworks by presenting a suggestion from G. A. Westgate, chairman of the State Central Committee, that the Republicans of every county leave a blank space on the primary ballot, to permit the voters to indicate their choice for President, and in this manner the delegates to the State convention might gain some insight into the sentiment of the Republican voters of the State. Mr. Schuebel favored the suggestion.

"I move that we disregard the recommendation," said Mr. Gibson, promptly, but Mr. Schuebel declared the motion lost, and then Mr. Gibson explained that he was not opposed to the method of obtaining an expression, but doubted its political expediency. H. E. Cross said that the suggestion should have come from the whole State committee and also should have been presented to the county committee in writing; and then Secretary Stipp took the floor. "Mr. Westgate," he reasoned, "is the present Surveyor-General of Oregon. There are several candidates for President—Taft, Hughes and a number of favorite sons. The federal office-holders are working in Taft's interests, and some of them are working for Roosevelt, although he has repeatedly said he is not a candidate for reelection. For the reason that there would be a great deal more activity for Taft and Hughes, would we really gain a fair expression of opinion by placing this on the primary ballot. Besides, the law does not provide for it."

Law Makes No Provision. A motion to adopt the recommendation of Mr. Westgate was declared carried by the chairman, but it will have no force whatever, as there is nothing in the election law that authorizes the County Clerk to place such a thing on the ballot, and Mr. Greenman states that he will do nothing outside the pale of the law.

The committee settled down to business and fixed Saturday, April 25, as the date of the precinct primaries, to select delegates to the county convention. In the country precincts the primaries will be held at 1 o'clock, and in Oregon City from 1 to 7 p. m. The date for the county convention will be determined by the new county central committee, which will be elected at the primary election on Friday, April 17. The apportionment of delegates from the various precincts to the county convention is based on the vote cast for Supreme Judge two years ago, and each precinct will be allowed one delegate at large and one for every 30 votes or major fraction thereof.

Table with 2 columns: Precinct Name and Delegate Count. Includes Abernethy, Barlow, Beaver Creek, Boring, Bulling, Canyon Creek, Clackamas, Cherrystone, etc.

Dixon Fires Bombshell. The chairman was authorized to fill all existing vacancies on the committee, and all vacancies having been disposed of, there was a movement for adjournment, when Mr. Dixon exploded his bombshell, with the presentation of the following resolution:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the Clackamas County Republican Central Committee, in convention assembled, that they are in favor of electing United States Senators by the people, as embodied in Statement No. 1."

Most of the members were thunder-struck, and looked to Mr. Schuebel to further promote harmony by requesting Mr. Dixon to withdraw the resolution. Dead silence prevailed for a few seconds, and then C. A. Miller, of West Oregon City, asked that the resolution be tabled, and the vote for and against the motion was so close that the members were in doubt, but Mr. Schuebel stated that the motion was lost, and the committee was confronted with the motion to adopt the resolution. John C. Bradley, former State central committee member, counseled peace in Republican ranks, and advised that the committee take no action. This was also the suggestion of C. A. Miller, but Mr. Schuebel thought otherwise, and, descending from the chair and taking the floor, he made a speech in favor of the resolution, and on a rising vote there were ten members voting, and the division was equal. "There are five proxies," said Schuebel, "and the resolution is adopted." The meeting was then adjourned.

TELL TALES

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hearing was the questioning of the boy, Walter, by his father, who forced the boy to admit that he had been whipped for stealing. Cross examination, however, developed the fact that the boy had been hungry and his thieving had been only of food from the house. Elsie had a scar under her eye, and stated that her stepmother had cut her there with a hazel, and then had whipped her into submission and forced her to tell her father that she had scratched herself with a nail.

Mrs. Hickman testified that two years ago, when the eldest boy was 12 years of age, and the youngest child only 6, she had seen all four of the children on the roof of the house scrapping off the moss. This was in the winter time, when a bitter cold northeast wind was blowing, and the children were prevented from falling from the steep roof by ropes tied around their waists and fastened to the chimney. Such state of parental inhumanity has not been heard of in a court in Oregon City for a long while and the officials are to be commended for putting a stop to such methods of treatment of little children.

O. D. ROBBINS HAS NEW AND NOVEL PLAN

BROACHES SCHEME THAT WOULD PLUNGE THE VOTERS INTO DIRE CONFUSION.

O. D. Robbins, a well-known Democrat of Logan, has a precious plan to remove objections to Statement No. 1 and if anything more is needed to confuse the average voter, Mr. Robbins certainly has pushed it forward. In a letter to W. S. U'Ren, the following proposal is made by Mr. Robbins:

"Because of the leading part you have taken in direct legislation, direct primaries and Statement No. 1, I believe you will be much interested in anything intended to make those measures more effective or to remove objections to them. The great objection urged against Statement No. 1 is that it gives a plurality and not a majority candidate. Of course, in some cases, the great objection behind that is to 'government of, by and for the people,' but if the honest objection can be removed the others will be driven into the open or forced to keep quiet. From reading editorials on the subject in the Journal, I have been led to consider the matter and have evolved a plan that seems just the thing to me from the limited time I have taken to consider it. It may have been considered before, but I have not heard of it, and offer it for whatever it is worth for your consideration."

"My plan involves but very little change in the tickets at the primaries and but little effort on the part of the average voter to understand and apply it. All that would be required would be that where there is more than two candidates for any office of either party, there shall be a space before or after the name of each candidate where the voter can express his choice by numbers; thus, if there were four candidates, A, B, C and D, he would place the figure 1 for his first choice, 2 for second, 3 for third and 4 for last. That would be the voter's part of it, and it is certainly simple and plain. Now on the tally sheets every candidate would be paired off with every other candidate, and if there were three candidates there would be three pairs, A-B, A-C and B-C. If there should be four there would be six pairs, etc. When the voter's ticket is counted, his first choice, or No. 1-A, for instance—is counted one vote in each pair in which the name appears. His second choice, or No. 2-B, for instance—is counted one vote in each pair with every name except A. His third choice, or No. 3-C, for instance—is counted one vote in all the pairs except with A and B, which, if there was but four names, would be the last, we will call D, who receives no vote. Thus the voter's first choice is counted one vote against each other candidate; his second choice is counted one vote against all but the first; his third choice is counted against all but the first and second, etc."

"Now, is it not plain that when the votes in each pair are counted that some one candidate will have received more votes than any candidate paired with him, and is thus the logical majority candidate, or that there is one or more ties? I do not know how a tie would be decided under the present law, or how it should be under the proposed plan. It should not matter much to the voters who have failed to decide."

"It seems to me that this would not be hard for a competent election board to apply. It would take more space on tally sheets and returns and more time of election boards, but would not the results be worth the extra time and trouble? Pass it around for comment and let me know what you think of it. I am, and have been from the start, an ardent friend of the initiative and referendum, of direct primaries and of Statement No. 1 as they are, but it seems to me this plan would perfect the two latter, as it would give every voter a chance to vote his preference at the primary, between any two candidates, for any office, including United States Senators, under Statement No. 1."

Humane Society Meets. The quarterly meeting of the Clackamas County Humane Society was held Monday night in the parlors of the Bank of Oregon City, and reports were heard. Several cases of cruelty to animals were reported, but these have been attended to by Humane Officer Darwin Bradley. The local organization will affiliate and keep in touch with the American Humane Society, which is the national body.

ONLY REAL BAD BOY TELLS AN OPEN LIE

SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT GARY AND REV. R. C. BLACKWELL TALK ON PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

People crowded the Methodist Episcopal Church Sunday night to listen to talks on methods of conducting the public schools, and the relation of such schools to the community. Many school officers and teachers were present and while several of the scheduled talks were omitted because of illness, the remarks of County School Superintendent T. J. Gary and Rev. R. C. Blackwell, pastor of the church, created much interest. The former referred particularly to the duties of parents to the teachers, and urged parents to be loyal to teachers and assist them in governing pupils. He talked of the so-called bad boys and stated in his long experience in educational work, he had not found many bad boys who were beyond control.

"The only real bad boy," said Mr. Gary, "is the boy who will look you straight in the face and tell you a lie." Mr. Blackwell discussed the school problem at some length. He said that teachers of the public schools of the country were not paid an adequate salary and probably never could be, and that good teachers were invaluable. "It is the duty of parents to sustain teachers," said Mr. Blackwell, "and it is a very important matter for the parents of this city to look after their girls. Keep a careful watch over them, for there are many things that they do not know and often their ignorance is taken advantage of."

The minister made an extended reference to discipline in the schools, and said it should show no laxity, and punishment should be inflicted as a basis for respect for law and order, with the object of inculcating in the minds of the children a wholesome respect for authority and to make them law abiding citizens. He said that corporal punishment should not be

abolished altogether and very often it was better than a tongue-lashing and more effective.

OUT FOR THE LEGISLATURE.

C. N. McArthur Candidate From the Seventeenth District.

C. N. McArthur, a young attorney of Portland, announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination for Representative from the Seventeenth District, consisting of Clackamas and Multnomah Counties. He pledges himself to work faithfully and industriously for the people of his district and to oppose all extravagant legislation, graft, humbug and demagogism. He believes in an economical administration of public affairs and asserts that he will take dictation from no man or set of men.

In the matter of the election of a United States Senator, Mr. McArthur agrees to vote for the man who receives the highest number of the people's votes, provided he be a Republican.

Mr. McArthur was a candidate for the Legislature two years ago, but was defeated in the primaries because of the alphabetical arrangement of the ballot. He was then, as he is at present, opposed to Statement No. 1.

Dr. W. C. Belt, of Sellwood, is also a candidate for the position to which Mr. McArthur aspires and is running on a Statement No. 1 platform. Inasmuch as Clackamas County had the joint representative two years ago, there will probably be no candidates from there this year, so Multnomah County will be permitted to fill the office. It is said that there will be no other candidates for the Republican nomination besides Dr. Belt and Mr. McArthur. In that event, the principal issue between these men will, no doubt, be Statement No. 1.

Nearly three hundred New York clergymen have petitioned Congress not to increase the Navy, arguing that the United States now pays 65 per cent of its revenues for its military establishment. And yet, there are those who believe that at least a competent military establishment is the surest preventive of war. The President is one of these, and Secretary Taft is another.

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